2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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we	*rịhi*	*irasi·ra*	
a	*tsiksu*	*wétatù·ta*	*hi i*
and	{mind / spirit	now I do	

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come,
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxki[x]. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours."

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When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change.

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Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna-

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[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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668 177 794 796 This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to [625] act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. [783] The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in [786] a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ, to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648 668 794 As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing, he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

[1] Murie op. cit.
[2] Murie, p. 635.
[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891—92.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
177 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
114 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last
668 four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
184 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
796 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance.
Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight.
786 The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing
each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the
afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until
the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
787 where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way.
796 There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and
533 leads the singing of the song once; all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning Star bundle.

Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth, whence she was returned to her own people. She died within three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued. The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has taken place since that date.

Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes, during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee. This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until 4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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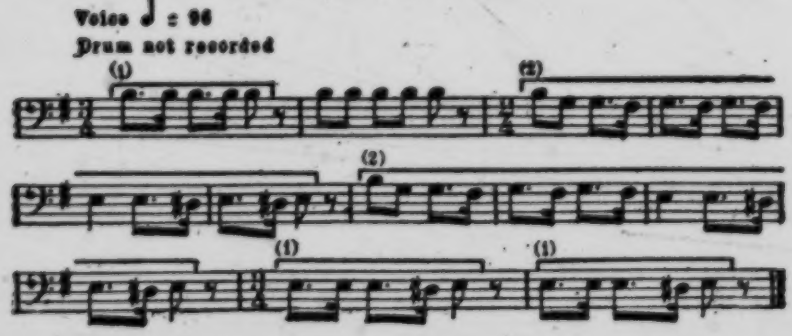
Analysis.—The only accented tones in this song are the keynote and fifth. The song comprises three periods, the first and last having the same rhythmic unit and the second period having a longer unit with a change of time. The interest and force of the song lie in the second rhythmic unit which contains a triple measure. The first rhythmic unit begins on an unaccented tone and the second begins on an accented tone. This peculiarity occurs also in two songs of the hand game (Nos. 43 and 47). The song contains eight descending and only three ascending intervals.

No. 56. Ghost Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1148)

Recorded by Horse Chief



Analysis.—In this song we feel the pathos of the Ghost dance. More than four-fifths of the intervals are semitones which occur only between F sharp and G, and D sharp and E. Rests occur with some frequency and were given uniformly in all the renditions. It is interesting to compare the close of the first rhythmic unit with that of the second which contains the same count division with a different accent.

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This and the succeeding song were not used in the hand game. The singer said that he composed this song when waking from a trance in the Ghost dance. He dreamed of a yellow star which came to him and said, "I am the star which you see in the sky at night." The star was in the form of a woman holding in her hand an eagle feather painted yellow. She gave him the feather, saying, "All the stars in the sky are people." A dream of the yellow star was induced by watching the star when in a Ghost dance trance. The favor of "yellow star" was greatly desired as she does not appear to many dancers, but she gives to her favored friends the right to wear a yellow eagle feather upright in their hair and to use it in hypnotizing other dancers. If such a feather is used under a false pretense no results can be obtained.

[786] ●

4: Murie 1-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great excitement. 575 796

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'-shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee. 114 174

It should be noted that in the Skidi iruska dog flesh is served. Four men wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except 262 796

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge. [787] [786]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668 After they had eaten they danced again until ten o'clock. Men and
786 women returned to their tipis, mourning and crying and having shaking fits.
796 About five o'clock they began to dance again. This time there were about four men and three women who seemed to be trembling badly. They ran around the camp crying, "I do not want you, go away from me." About the third day, one of the women fell and lay on the ground about five minutes and then sat up. She began to cry and finally her crying turned into a song. One man went to her and she told what she had seen while she lay on the ground. The fourth day a young man fell and lay upon the ground all night. When he came to, he ran to the prophet's tipi and told what he had seen. The prophet ordered that all the people go upon a hill and hear the young man tell his story. This was about eight o'clock in the evening. When all the people were on the hill, standing in a line facing west, the young man was told to sit down in front of them, the village crier went and sat beside him. The young man told the following story:

668 When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I felt a queer
786 sensation passing through my body. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange
787 being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from
796 the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, "My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people." I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me, and said, "My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing." So we went on and there in the center of the village, our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying upon the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw.

668 The people went to him and as each person took hold of his hand, he
786 either fell or began to tremble. After this four men were selected to smoke
796 to the dead people. After the smoke everyone began to cry. Then the prophet and the new prophet ran around among the people throwing them

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

down upon the ground. After the excitement they all went back to camp and danced until ten o'clock that night. The next morning all joined the dance again. This time a woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, "That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth." Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right.

While the Wichita had been indifferent to the teachings of White, the Pawnee soon became enthusiasts. White went first to the Pitahauerata village and began his ceremonies, where at once a few had the trances. As the news spread, the chiefs of all the Pawnee villages met to see demonstrations and discuss the movement. Two days were given over to dancing. The first camp was broken up by a fire, a tipi catching fire ignited the grass and destroyed much property; but undismayed a new camp was formed. Many persons went into trances, while many were alarmed at the intensity of the phenomenon. White then demonstrated his power by putting bystanders into trances by touching them. Finally he closed the demonstration by a spectacular race. Taking his position in the center, the converts around in a circle, he caused them to fall at will.

After this, practically the whole of the Pawnee were under White's influence. Dances were almost continuous during the winter and the following summer. Infatuated with the belief in the immediate destruction of the world, they planted no crops and threw away their property. Naturally, they became sullen and disobedient to their Agent, resulting in the arrest of White by United States marshals.

This excited the Indians greatly and almost caused hostilities. In the meantime the Oto had taken up the Pawnee dance and also threatened to go on the warpath. Owing to the skill of their Agent, the Pawnee were quieted and White released. He himself did what he could to develop the movement into a less militant religion. To do this he magnified the Christian elements. There was opposition for a time for all the old Pawnee medicinemen took the trances as forms of the powers formerly exercised by the animal lodges (p. 602) and began a vigorous revival, each setting himself up as a prophet and seeking to outdo the others. White died in 1893, after which the strength and unity of the religion quickly disappeared among the many rival prophets.

This Pawnee ceremony seems to have been largely original with White

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 behind them was packed with spectators. So great was the eagerness of the people to see the ceremony that many of them tore holes in the roof and walls of the lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

793 When all the invited guests had taken their places,
796 the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick
[824] poles about twelve feet long. The priest of the northeast was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the
796 southeast, a willow. When they had returned, the four poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as they burned, they were pushed in toward the center, the cross being always maintained.

The ceremonies which followed are not fully known, but they consisted of many songs and dances, with feasting, and continued for three days and nights.
[786] During this time, and for the three days after the slaying of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were set aside, and the priests announced to the people that if any man approached any woman during this period, she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might increase.

727 Toward morning of each night, the representative
782 of the northeast village danced around the fireplace,
796 and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction, pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body. This was repeated by the representative of the other directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with the greatest respect and consideration throughout the ceremony. She was told that the entire performance was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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climbed each rung, a song was sung about the appropriate animal. Singing they tied her on and then left her there facing east.

The war leader and four direction priests were hiding in the ravine; now the four priests came out one by one. The Southeast bundle man with the burning stick ran out of hiding and barely touched the girl on the arms and loins. The Northwest bundle man came out with his bow and arrow and shot her through the heart. Now the Northeast man of the Big Black Meteoric Star rushed up with the flint knife and made a small cut over her heart. Taking some of the blood, he painted streaks on his face. The southwest man came with the warclub, and he made a gesture at her. The blood of the girl was allowed to drip on the dried tongue and heart meat of the consecrated buffalo, and the priest made a new fire at the southeast, the burnt offering of the sacred meat being made by the priest of the Evening Star bundle. Now all the men and the boys of the Skidi Band, singing war songs, riddled the body with their arrows. Then the priest told them to leave the sacrifice.

The priests now made a final disposition of the body. It was full daylight, and four men who had been chosen to assist, untied the body and took it about a quarter of a mile to the east, placing it on the ground face down. They sang, "The whole earth, she shall turn into. The whole earth shall receive her blood." Then they spoke of nine things in turn: "She will turn into a bunch of grass; the ants will find her, the moths will come and find her, the fox shall come and find her, the coyote, the wildcat, the magpie, the crow; buzzards will come and find her, and last of all will be the bald-headed eagle who will come and eat her."

All the people who participated in the ritual went to the ceremonial earth lodge and there ate a meal of consecrated buffalo meat. The public dispersed.

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In the village there was general rejoicing. Men and women danced, and there was a period of ceremonial sexual license to promote fertility. Some women dressed themselves in their husband's war costumes, dancing around and making fun of the men. They mimicked what they did in war and ceremony.

> They carried the Mother Corn. . . . They would go to the secret lodge, and standing outside of it would tell the story of how they came to go on the pretended war party and what they did while they were gone, what enemies they struck—the whole long story. The people stood around laughing as they did these things. Imitating the warriors, the women changed their names also. One of the leading old women once took the name "Mud on Meat" another "Skunk Skin Tobacco Pouch" another, "Sitting Fish Old Man," another "Stepping on the Heart." The old men standing around joked with the old women and they all joked and made fun of each other.
>
> (Grinnell, 1925, p. 368)